5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

include gifts to persons of the same household? It would have been easy enough to lay down a rule that this kind of gift should be excluded from the survey and nor mentioned by informants, but I decided that it was not for me to start defining to the Orokaiva what was meant by a phrase like *ba ikari* 'to give-taro'. Evidently food given to household members was, in certain circumstances, regarded as a gift. I recorded a total of 265 such 'transactions' from fourteen households during the survey period. Among those who mentioned such 'transactions' were some of my most helpful informants. At the beginning of the survey, household members were only sporadically mentioned but the number of mentions increased as the survey proceeded, until a pattern emerged.[2] A gift of food from wife to husband was never mentioned. A gift to a household member other than a natural or adopted child of one or both of the marriage partners was always included. Married daughters and sons old enough to live in a bachelor's house were always included. What confused informants most was how to regard gifts to younger sons and daughters.

Some parents included their children if they were old enough to be of school age. Others included the boys if they had gone through the 'birthday' ceremony which nowadays takes the place of initiation and included the boys if they had been through puberty seclusion. Others again did not include their dependent children at all. There was no uniform pattern. I ascribe the confusion to two factors: first, it used to be customary for children to start working in the garden at a very early age, doing whatever was within their capacity and making some contribution to the household economy. Boys would be given their own small garden plots at an early age and their sisters would fulfil some feminine tasks (planting, harvesting) in these plots. When schooling became general in the district, the children ceased making that kind of contribution. Secondly, school 'lunches' were mostly taken by the children every morning and eaten on the school grounds. These lunches were identical in form to the intra-village taro gifts: they were a meal of cooked taro cooked by the mother and taken out of the home.

Intra-household taro gifts were reported to me in too inconsistent a fashion to permit statistical analysis, but they were interesting as they revealed the household to be, in itself, a minuscule exchange system. This system was intact to a greater extent in Hohorita, where schooling ends at grade 3, than in Sivepe where adolescents are mostly at school rather than in the garden. At Hohorita adolescents grew and (if they were females) harvested vegetable food, gave this to their mothers, and their mothers fed and looked after them. The same principle applied in Sivepe to adults living with their adult and married children, brothers or sisters. Even very old men and women do what gardening they can to make a contribution. The record shows, in the case of some of these old people, that they made hardly any contribution at all during the survey period. As this was a period when taro was becoming scarce, their small gardens were exhausted, but a few months later some of them would again have crops of their own.

Most of the older people who thus depended on gifts for their sustenance were not fed by one household only, though usually one household bore most of the burden. However, wherever there was a helpless old person, there were always at least two regularly contributing households in addition to the one to which that person was attached. We must distinguish, among the Orokaiva,

461 recorded every afternoon, when each able-bodied adult was asked
125 how he had distributed his working hours. Of the population of 50, 25 were able-bodied persons over the age of 16.[1] These fall into 2 distinct categories according to age. Seven householders are between the ages of 45 and 65 years, and the other 5 between 25 and 35 years of age. There were no younger men or boys over 15 years in the village. Five of the women were aged 45 or more, 5 were between 25 and 30, and 3 younger women whose husbands were absent in employment, were staying with their kin in the village. One Jegase woman was a total cripple.

857 Nine of the 24 children attend school and 11 are 5 years of age
[871] or under. The rest, 2 boys and 2 girls in the 10-15 age group gave only intermittent assistance in garden work. The boys would often go hunting but were not engaged in productive work as regularly as their elders. The girls had a relatively heavy schedule of domestic chores.

592 The household containing a nuclear family is the basic unit of production and consumption. Members of an expanded family usually make their gardens on adjacent plots and the men usually co-operate in the heavier clearing work. Its members usually travel together
[462] to their gardens, but each household then cultivates its garden alone. Apart from the harvesting, which is the task of women, the division of labour between sexes in gardening activities seems to be flexible in each household. Women assist in clearing undergrowth for new gardens and men join them in planting and weeding. It will be seen from Table 4 that men spent nearly as much time as the women in subsistence gardening during our survey. A

342 House-building is carried out generally by the householder and
476 any adult sons, with only occasional assistance from a neighbour
[462] or another kinsman. Wives sometimes help to prepare materials such as sago thatch for the roof.

[824] Larger work-groups than these are seldom mobilized for subsis-
[461] tence activities.[2] One or 2 men can readily clear enough secondary growth for their own needs and little co-operation is

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[1] Included among these were 1 man whose activity was restricted by tuberculosis, and another very old man. However, both maintained their own gardens.

[2] E. Waddell (personal communication) suggests that assistance with house-building is not 'occasional' but 'considerable' especially with making roofs; he also points out that large work-groups are assembled for harvesting yams (which do not need to be left in the ground for storage). Neither type of co-operation was in evidence during our short survey of work patterns.

A. [See Category 461, p. 28--Analyst]

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

The one age group not considered in the survey is children. Customarily the parents delegate various tasks to them as they get older, but the current picture is somewhat complicated by the fact that over 80 per cent of all children in the area receive at least a few years' primary schooling. Since the type of education provided has little direct bearing on village life or economy it is not uncommon for such children to profess some disdain for village tasks and the extent to which they assist their elders frequently depends upon the degree of parental authority. Children up to the age of about ten years normally play around the village in the morning and evening, going down to the creek during the hottest part of the day, when they might do a little fishing. If they accompany their parents to the garden they are left in the garden shelter or under the shade of a tree and the older ones are directed to look after the younger. Otherwise the only jobs they appear to do regularly are fetching water and tending the fire, although the older girls are given such household tasks as washing dishes and also attending to infants. Boys over the age of about ten years may hunt, build traps in the forest and do some of the more hazardous jobs like scaling trees for green coconuts, while both they and the girls are called upon to assist in pulping coffee. For those attending school, most of these activities are restricted to the weekends and holidays; even then they may resist their parents' requests for assistance, preferring instead to do a little hunting or fishing for their own amusement or to picnic together.

561 [871] 857

<u>The weekly pattern, daily routine and duration of activities</u>

It is customary for ethnographic surveys to devote a section to the description of a typical working day and, in its treatment of the Orokaiva, Williams' account (1930:21-31) is no exception. What he considers to be a normal routine comprises an early breakfast from the cold remnants of the previous evening's meal followed by the departure of family groups to their gardens where they pursue their various tasks. By noon these are completed and most families are back in the village to rest in their houses for an hour or two. 'The real activity of the village commences at about three o'clock' with the preparation of the evening meal by the women, the men meanwhile restricting themselves to sedentary tasks or conversation. This is eaten near nightfall and a period of conversation or informal entertainment follows until everybody retires to sleep. Such a routine may be modified by climate, ceremonial activities and the occasional demands of the Administration and recruiters.

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Regardless of whether the daily routine in the 1920s fully conformed to Williams' description, the present pattern is substantially different, not only for those activities which are directly related to the increased commercialisation of the economy and interaction

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[462]
[286]
[285]
[824]
[462]
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(11) Other subsistence activities. The other subsistence activities are construction of houses and other buildings and the preparation of tools and equipment such as spears, sleeping-mats and string bags. The latter activity occupies, on average, about 1.5 man-hours per week with no seasonal variation. Over one-third of this time is accounted for by women making string bags. More than one-quarter is spent, mostly by women, collecting and weaving pandanus leaves into mats and over one-tenth in sewing clothes. Men's tasks in this sphere include the making and repair of axe-handles, spears and fishing nets and the weaving of coconut-leaf baskets. House construction is carried out almost entirely by men, except for the preparation of roof-sheets from sago-palm leaves, in which women may assist, and it occupies about 2.0 man-hours a week. During periods I and II, several people were building houses on the new village site. For the most part, such activity was not intensive; some continued to live in the old village and from time to time worked on their new houses, while others built temporary houses on the new site and lived in these while erecting their permanent houses. Not all construction, however, was subsistence oriented. In July and early August the men spent 189.6 hours erecting the copra-drier and in period III the entrepreneur spent 3.2 hours on his new trade store. (Also in period III, 33.1 hours were spent building the chapel, but this was recorded as 'church work' and is included under 'external agencies' rather than 'construction'.) The amount of time shown as spent on construction of houses, garden shelters and the copra-drier is much higher than the time that would be spent on building in most years. This is due to the unusual circumstances during 1964 of the decision to build the copra-drier and the reconstruction of the village; normally, individuals might build new houses only once in five years. Thus, the annual rate of house-construction would be only about one-fifth of the 1964 rate.

The amount of time expended by individuals in household tasks - cooking, washing and collecting firewood - as shown in Table 7:3 - is understated. Owing to problems of observation during periods I and II when the village was on two sites, cooking was rarely recorded. As a rule, wives prepare two meals a day; breakfast requires 0.8 hours and the evening meal takes 1.5 hours on average. When a midday meal is prepared, the mean time taken is 1.0 hours. Thus, wives are likely to spend at least 2.3 hours a day in cooking, or 16.1 hours a week, and it is clear that cooking is the most time-consuming task for them. When the figures are calculated incorporating this average figure, the mean time spent by individuals on household tasks appears as 10.1 hours rather than 3.8 hours. (This does not include the important contribution made by children, particularly young girls, who, from the age of about five, fetch water and wash pots and, by the time they are about twelve, assist in preparing meals.)

development of each of the small local co-operatives. These were all organized along similar lines but the following description applies specifically to the Gombe Co-operative which (to distinguish it from Samuel Ungega's venture) was renamed the Yega Co-operative.

The executive committee of the co-operative consisted of five members: a chairman who was a well-known elder and later became the acknowledged leader of the Yega, a secretary who was a younger man of some education and in good standing with the mission authorities, and three young and energetic members, two of them ex-servicemen who had had some post-war agricultural training at Dogura. This committee was elected by a general meeting of Yega people. Its function was to decide which land to use, when to change areas of cultivation and when to work: co-operative work days were Tuesdays and Saturdays when all people (even school children on Saturdays) were supposed to work on the co-operative gardens. At certain times, such as harvesting, extra work was necessary. The committee made the decision when to call for such extra efforts. In addition, the committee appointed people to other set duties and supervised the performance of these duties. Such positions were:

i. jobmaster, who allocated work;

ii. farm leaders, who kept farm records,[1] supervised sowing, harvesting and other technical aspects - these men had all had some agricultural training;

iii. huller operator. A rice huller was acquired and installed at the western end of Beporo village;

iv. toolkeepers and timekeepers. They kept tools in good repair, and rang the bell at 8 a.m. for staring work, at mid-day for prayers and at 5 p.m. for knocking off and prayers. Although people then lived in villages stretching along about three miles of coastline, and the only bell was in Beporo village, it was stated that in the early days of co-operative work most people were punctual; after the first year there was a gradual slackening in enthusiasm.

The secretary kept a roll book in which the names of all workers were entered. Each work day he walked round the gardens and ticked off the names of those present. There was no attempt to discriminate between hard workers and slackers. The person who worked for one hour received the same credit for attendance as one who

[1] Unfortunately no written records of the co-operative were located.

121 Much depends on the success of the policies now being advocated by the government. If these are successful in raising living standards and hold promise of yielding the wealth and power expected of them (that is, a gradual increase of wealth and power), then the direction of change observed since the war will continue to be followed. People will then be willing to make ever more drastic modifications of old ritual and finally, perhaps, the traditional conceptual system will break down in favour of a different system. On the other hand, Orokaiva are not unprepared if these promises remain unfulfilled and if living standards should actually drop again, a possibility by no means to be ruled out as the economic future of New Guinea export products is very uncertain. In that case, millennial movements, relying on traditional magical procedures, are an ever-open possibility.

177 At the present time, Orokaiva are not taking a defensive position about their abandonment of old customs, as they regard this a reasonable consequence of accepting the "new day." Nor do they act defensively when they observe traditional custom. They reinterpret such observance by means of the kind of ambiguities I have outlined.
[154] In fact I cannot conceive of any situation in which an Orokaiva will behave defensively. I would not call their ambiguities rationalisations either: when they use terms like "birthday party" or "practise," they are not rationalising their ceremonies as part of a new Christian way of life but they are merely saying that these ceremonies are capable of bearing a second meaning, in the context of a Christian system. Upon further inquiry, the anthropologist finds that his informants can explain the original system in much detail whereas a concept such as that of a "birthday party" in the Western sense is left in a total vacuum, as the day and even the year of birth of a child is hardly noted.

Section 2: Controls Operating for and Against Continuance of Tradition

852 In an earlier chapter I described a ceremony for children
177 about to start their new school year. It was a kind of farewell feast, which certainly made the children feel that they were off to an important assignment to an alien world. But it also carried a second kind of message: that the world of the school begins outside the
859 village boundaries. When the children came back to the village (which
177 was every night) they resumed their ordinary roles in the Orokaiva scheme. The children felt no conflict of loyalties inside the village; village life had been sufficiently adapted to remove glaring inconsistencies between the rules of village and mission station. It was a little
124 different for my interpreter who had been to Martyr's School and who
177 therefore knew various Christian concepts unfamiliar to other villagers. This made him feel a little superior when he talked to me; he would tell me what "the others" believed, adding that he knew how matters